

Monday, 23rd March, 1942

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

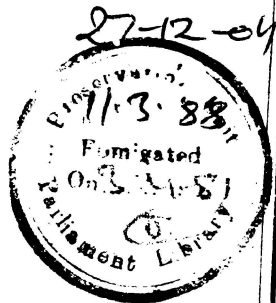
VOLUME I, 1942

(18th February to 2nd April, 1942)

ELEVENTH SESSION

OF THE

FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1942



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COUNCIL OF STATE.

Monday, 23rd March, 1942.

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN :

General Sir Alan Fleming Hartley (Nominated Official).

Mr. Chandulal Madhavlal Trivedi (Nominated Official).

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

GOVERNMENTS FOR WHOM COINAGE ORDERS WERE EXECUTED.

155. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state for what other Governments the Indian mints have carried out a number of coinage orders, and what is the amount of fees received from each of such Governments for this work, during the last year ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : A statement in respect of the year 1941-42 is laid on the table.

Statement.

Name of the Government for whom coinage orders were executed.	Minting charges exclusive of cost of metal, freight, etc.	
	Rs.	▲.
1. Saudi Arabia	2,50,000	0
2. Straits Settlements	1,06,000	0
3. Ceylon	1,01,660	10
4. His Majesty's Government	4,94,600	0
5. Travancore State	52,545	8
6. Iraq	37,750	0
7. East Africa	4,31,440	0
8. Egypt	1,95,000	0
9. Muscat	880	0
10. Bahawalpur State	20,448	0

Questions against the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh were put by the Honourable Mr. V. V. Kalikar.



GOVERNMENTS FOR WHOM ORDERS WERE EXECUTED BY THE CURRENCY NOTE PRESS.

156. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state what foreign orders have been undertaken by the Currency Note Press, Nasik, and what is the amount of fees received from each of them during last year ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : A statement for the year 1941-42 is placed on the table.

Statement.

Governments for whom orders were executed by the Currency Note Press.	Charges for Currency Notes supplied.
	Rs. A.
Ceylon	1,65,940 10
Iraq	35,267 0

CHINA NATIONAL AVIATION CORPORATION.

157. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state whether air transport service between India and China has come into operation ? Will Government make a statement on the question so far as they can without divulging military secrets ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. TRIVEDI : The China National Aviation Corporation is operating regular air services between India and China. It would not be desirable to elaborate what I have stated in present circumstances.

CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS FROM STATE RAILWAYS FOR THE MECHANICAL TRANSPORT SERVICE.

158. THE HONOURABLE MR. ABDOOL RAZAK HAJEE ABDOOL SUTTAR : (a) Will Government state whether State Railway Administrations have repeatedly called upon State railway employees to volunteer for service in the Military Transportation units and have very few qualified and experienced State railway employees volunteered their services for military duty in the present war ?

(b) Were the persons who sacrificed much in the cause of their King and country by rendering approved military service during the last Great War promised a special preference for promotion on their return from military duty in several notifications of the Railway Board ? Were those promises fulfilled in all cases ?

(c) Will Government state whether it is a fact that qualified and experienced railwaymen are not volunteering for service in the Transportation units ? Are Recruiting Officers recruiting men without any railway training and experience and sending them to Jullundur and overseas ?

(d) Will Government lay on the table of this House a list showing names with designations of State railway employees still in service who rendered approved service on military railways overseas during the last Great War, and what promotion they have been given in terms of the Railway Board's promises since their return to Indian State Railways ?

(e) Do Government propose to give the few railwaymen still in service on Indian State Railways who proved their loyalty in the last Great War the preference for promotion promised them with retrospective effect ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. M. TRIVEDI : (a) Calls have been made for volunteers when necessary, the response has not satisfied the demand and in some cases the men volunteering could not be spared.

(b) The reply to the first part is that no such notifications can be traced and it is not believed that any were issued. The second part does not arise.

(c) As regards the first part, I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply to part (a). As regards the second part, training centres have been established on most Class I Railways where recruits are being trained.

(d) Government have not these particulars and regret they cannot undertake the researches necessary to secure them.

(e) As explained in the reply to part (b) no promise was held out that staff who volunteered for war service would be given any preference in promotions.

STATEMENTS, ETC., LAID ON THE TABLE.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH (Home Secretary) : Sir, I lay on the table copies of the Declarations of Exemption under section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939, as published with the notifications of the Government of India in the Home Department—

(1) No. 1/7/42-Political (E), dated the 10th March, 1942, and

(2) No. 1/10/42-Political (E), dated the 16th March, 1942.

Declaration of Exemption.

No. 1/7/42-Political (E.), dated the 10th March, 1942.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Monsieur J. Schim van der Loeff, Trade Commissioner for the Netherlands East Indies in India so long as he holds that post.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

Declaration of Exemption.

No. 1/10/42-Political (E.), dated the 16th March, 1942.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Monsieur C. J. I. Welter, Associated Member for the Netherlands East Indies in the Eastern Group Supply Council, so long as he holds that post.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD (Commerce Secretary): Sir, I lay on the table a further list of Commercial Treaties and Notes affecting India.

List of Commercial Treaties and Notes affecting India.

PART I.

Agreement under which the products of India receive most-favoured-nation treatment on terms of reciprocity.

Countries which are parties to the Agreement.	Nature and date of Agreement.	Description.	Remarks.
U. K. and Egypt	Exchange of Notes, 16th February, 1941.	Commerce	These Notes provided for the prolongation until 16th February, 1942 of the provisional Commercial Agreement concluded between these Governments by the Exchange of Notes, dated 5th and 7th June, 1930.

PART II.

Agreement to which India is a party.

Countries which are parties to the Agreement.	Nature and date of Agreement.	Description.	Remarks.
British India and French Establishments in India.	Agreement, 28th January, 1941.	Customs Union Agreement.	The Agreement came into operation on the 15th February, 1941. It provides that goods imported into or exported from the French Establishments other than from or to British India shall be subject to the Customs duty leviable and the restrictions and prohibitions applicable, in British India, the proceeds being credited to British Indian revenues and the French Establishments receiving an annual compensation of Rs. 6,20,000.

PART III.

Denunciation of Agreement.

Countries which are parties to the Agreement.	Nature and date of Agreement.	Description.	Remarks.
India and Japan .	Convention (July 12th, 1934).	Commercial Relations and Trade and Commerce.	Under Article 6 of the Convention six months' notice of denunciation was given to the Japanese Government by His Majesty's Ambassador in Tokyo on 26th July, 1941.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

THE HONOURABLE MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON (Labour Member) :
Sir, I beg to move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, two non-official members to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Labour Department is concerned.”

The Motion was adopted.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. D. TYSON (Education, Health and Lands Secretary) : Sir, I beg to move :—

“ That the members of this Council do proceed to elect in such manner as may be approved by the Honourable the President, one person from among their number to sit on the Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India.”

The Motion was adopted.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL DEFENCE.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO (Civil Defence Member) : Sir, I beg to move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, two non-official members to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Civil Defence.”

The Motion was adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : With reference to the three Motions which have just been adopted by the Council, I have to announce that nominations to the Committees will be received by the Secretary up to 11 A.M. on the 25th March, 1942 and the date of election, if necessary, will be announced later.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Honourable Members, we will now proceed with the discussion on the Finance Bill. I may point out to Honourable Members that two days have been fixed for this purpose. Tomorrow we have got three small Bills which will not take more than half an hour or an hour to dispose of ; so I have arranged that the discussion may be postponed at 4 P.M. this evening till tomorrow morning. When all Members have addressed the House, I will request the Honourable the Finance Member to reply to the debate.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES (Finance Secretary) : Sir, I move :—

“ That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to vary the rate of the excise duty on motor spirit leviable under the Motor Spirit (Duties) Act, 1917, to vary the rate of the excise duty on kerosene leviable under section 5 of the Indian Finance Act, 1922, to vary the rate of the excise

[Mr. C. E. Jones.]

duty on silver leviable under the Silver (Excise Duty) Act, 1930, to levy customs duties in addition to the duties of customs leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to fix rates of income-tax and super-tax and to continue the charge and levy of excess profits tax and fix the rate at which excess profits tax shall be charged, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration."

This Bill, Sir, commonly known as the Finance Bill, is designed to give legislative sanction, in so far as legislation is required, to the Budget proposals of the Government for the ensuing year. The Budget proposals as contemplated by the Government were fully explained by me in this House in my Budget Speech on the 28th of February and it is hardly necessary for me to go over that same ground again. It will perhaps be sufficient if I explain to the House in what respects the Bill which has now come before the House differs from the proposals contemplated in my Budget Speech, and it will probably be convenient if I take those differences in the order in which they affect the provisions of the Bill now before the House.

The first change that has been made is in respect of clause 6 of the Bill by including among the exemptions from the 20 per cent. surcharge on customs duty certain items of machinery. The past practice of Government in regard to imports of machinery has been to open the door freely to such articles as may be called the fixed capital employed in productive industries. As a result, machinery of different kinds receive different treatment in the Indian Customs tariff. Certain items of machinery such as water lifts, sugar mills, agricultural implements, dairy and poultry farming appliances and so on are admitted free of duty. They are, therefore, automatically exempt from the surcharge on duty and it was unnecessary to include them in this Bill. Certain other items of machinery such as boilers, textile machinery, printing machinery and component parts of such machinery have been included in items 72, 72 (1), 72 (2) and 72 (3) of the Indian Customs Tariff and are subject to a favourable rate of duty, namely, 10 per cent. Certain other items which really do not form the capital of productive industry are charged to the full revenue duty of 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. It might, therefore, be argued that in so far as preferential treatment is given to certain items of machinery, the surcharge would automatically continue that preferential treatment by operating less harshly on the lower dutiable goods than on the higher dutiable goods. But in consideration of the fact that at the present time, in present circumstances machinery required for the establishment of new industry is unduly expensive on account of high prices, heavy charges for freightage and insurance and so on, the Government have decided to exempt from the surcharge those items of machinery in respect of which the claim for special treatment has already been recognised, that is, those which are subject to the lower rate of duty. The other items which are subject to the ordinary revenue duty are not held to be deserving of any special concession and the 20 per cent. surcharge will, therefore, apply to them. That provision you will find in proviso (d) to clause 6 of the Bill as now before the House.

The next change that has been made is in respect of the proviso to sub-clause (5) of clause 8 of the Bill. This is largely a formal alteration designed in the interest of people with incomes below Rs. 2,000 per annum, which under the Bill will be made liable to income-tax but under sub-clause (5) of clause 8 can escape that liability by the deposit of a certain sum of money. You will find from sub-clause (2) of clause 8, which is a customary provision in a Finance Bill, that the rates of income-tax applicable under the Indian Finance Act, 1941, are continued in the case of assesseees, not being a company, whose

total income includes any income chargeable under the head "Salaries" or under the head "Interest on Securities" or any income from dividends.

Consequently, the tax on lower incomes proposed in clause (a) of part I-A, of Schedule II of the Bill will not be payable in respect of such inclusions. But, on the other hand, under sub-clause (5) of clause 8, but for the proviso which has now been inserted, the assessee would be required to deposit with the Central Government, in order to obtain exemption from income-tax of a small part of his salary, an amount calculated with reference to his total income. The amendment removes this defect by providing that the amount to be deposited shall be an amount bearing to the minimum required to be deposited under sub-clause (5) the same proportion as the amount of total income diminished by the amount of salaries, etc., bears to the amount of total income.

The next change that has been made is in respect of sub-clause (6) of clause 8 of the Bill, and gives effect to a suggestion which was made in this House by the Honourable Mr. Parker, that these deposits should be exempt from legal charge. The amendment made, that is, sub-clause (6) as it now stands, places the amount deposited under sub-clause (5) in the same category as all compulsory deposits and other sums in or derived from any Fund to which the Provident Funds Act, 1925, applies.

The next change that has been made will be found in clause 10 of the Bill which relates to the funding of one-tenth of the Excess Profits Tax paid by an assessee at the rate of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. The amendment allows sufficient time for making the additional deposit where Excess Profits Tax assessments at the rate of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. have been made either before the commencement of the Finance Act or early in the year 1942-43. It gives an assessee up to the 1st day of July, 1942 to make up his mind whether he shall make the deposit or not.

The last change that has been made is in respect of incomes below the Rs. 2,000 limit (Schedule II). Honourable Members will remember that the proposal put forward in the Budget Speech was that incomes between Rs. 1,000 per annum and Rs. 2,000 per annum should be made liable to income-tax at the rate of six pies in the rupee on the excess of the income over Rs. 750 per annum, but that that liability could be avoided by the potential assessee depositing with the Government a sum roughly amounting to one and a quarter times the amount of income-tax for which he would otherwise be liable. The purpose of this provision I explained fully in my Budget Speech, but it has since been decided in deference to a considerable body of opinion which had been expressed on this proposal to raise the lower limit from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 per annum, and these provisions will therefore operate only in respect of incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000 per annum.

Apart from those changes, the provisions embodied in this Bill are as explained by me in my Budget Speech.

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated Non-Official) :
Sir, this is a war-time budget and therefore cannot be seriously opposed and we are thankful for small mercies inasmuch as the taxable limit of incomes has been raised from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. Sir, my object in getting up now is to find out how all this money is being utilised. Are we getting our money's worth for all the great sums that are being collected? We see a lot of people going about in uniforms and so on. I suppose these uniforms also have attached to them substantial, if not fat, salaries. But what I wish to know is, are all these people effectives, or are we getting our money's worth? That

[Sir David Devadoss.]

is a matter for the Defence Department and that is sacrosanct and we cannot touch it. But I am on a more intimate subject than that. I want to know what provision is there for the protection of the people. I come from Madras and if there is an air raid in Madras there will be a stampede and a lot of people will evacuate and unless proper precautions are taken the City will be in the hands or at the mercy of hooligans, robbers and *badmashes*. I want to know what effective remedy is there to prevent this happening? It is all very well to say there is the police and other authorities to protect. But we know that in practice this does not work out well. I may mention an incident of many years ago. There was a storm in a teapot, and I really mean a storm in a teapot. There was a slight commotion in a mufassal town. The District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent went there and found a crowd and some *badmashes* had set fire to the municipal office and the district munsif's court. Well, the crowd was asked to disperse. I do not know if the crowd understood what was said. Anyhow the Superintendent of Police fired at the mob and an old woman was killed. Then in the evening I took a walk along the maidan and I found two policemen with drawn bayonets sitting in front of the English Club, and the Bishop of the place met me and said, "How is it you are walking about, it is dangerous". What I mean is, when there is trouble the local police will be asked to protect first the treasury, and then probably the European officers' houses and the English Club and so on; and what is to become of the people? Who is to protect them? That is a question that is very important. I am not going to draw upon the incidents of Singapore and Burma, but this is a matter which touches us very closely. I want some sort of protection for the people from the attentions of hooligans and robbers. In Madras they formed what is called Oorkappu Sangam, that is, City or Town Protection Society. But those societies are looked upon with suspicion. What I suggest is this, that the Government may very well hand over to the people, or ask the responsible and leading men of each town and city to form associations for the purpose of protecting the people against the attentions of undesirables. Sir, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, the Arms Act has been so well worked there is hardly any firearm left in the place. When I say hardly any, it might be said that I am exaggerating. It is not so. There may perhaps be in the province one or two thousand firearms. Even what is known as a fowling piece—of which I do not know whether the younger members of this House have heard, but in my young days we had them, guns which you load through the muzzle and then you put a cap on and fire—even such arms are subject to very strict supervision by the police and the result is that very few people possess them. Now supposing one fine morning a Japanese parachutist descends on my compound. I have no protection against that man. He may be armed with a machine gun. And supposing he comes on to my verandah and demands breakfast or food and I order my servants to give him food, the over zealous police may prosecute me for "harbouring" an enemy under the provisions of law recently passed, though I am helpless. These are some of the things which I want to press upon the attention of the Government. The people must be protected against lawlessness and anarchy and all sorts of troubles. I am not for a moment afraid of the Japanese descending on India in large numbers, but there may be here and there air raids, there may be some trouble, and what provision is there to prevent *badmashes* troubling peaceful inhabitants? My first complaint is that the people are unarmed and helpless. They are like sheep. If half a dozen men, whether enemies or others, come with arms, a whole town like Madura or Trichinopoly will be helpless unless an army is there; and the army is not all

over the place. You may remember in 1938 I moved a Resolution that the Madras Regiments should be revived, and you remember what the then Commander-in-Chief said. He complimented me on my speech and said, "Oh, our policy is different. We won't do anything". Within a year of my making that Motion war was declared, and then you wanted armies to be raised. You cannot produce an army out of your hat. You must train people to fight. You must train people to take a real interest in the matter. What I want is that the people must be made to understand that it is their war. It is not a war in which Government alone is interested but the whole of India is. The people of India are interested and what steps are you taking to make the people understand that their safety lies in trying to protect themselves. I find, Sir, that the efforts are very few. No doubt in Madras we are all very anxious to raise money for the Governor's War Fund and we have reached, I believe, the Rs. 2 crore limit and we are very proud of it. Most people think that that is all that they have to do, that if you subscribe to the Viceroy's War Fund, if you subscribe to the Governor's War Fund, you have done your duty, that the war is not going to come to your door, you are not going to be affected. I think this mentality ought to be removed. People must be made to understand that India is in real danger and they must protect themselves. Before any trouble comes from outside, I want no kind of lawlessness, no kind of anarchy, to prevail in the country, by taking proper steps. Private societies trying to prevent lawlessness should be encouraged. What I would suggest, subject to what the Government may say, is that old firearms may be given to young men and they may be asked to use them. The very fact that there are a few firearms in a place will prevent *badmashes* from trying to create trouble or to commit robbery or some worse offence than that. Take young men into your confidence. You can make the U.T.C. in Madras, for instance, into a very large association. Try your best to bring in the young men to protect streets. You can tell half a dozen young men to protect a particular street and provide them with one of the useless firearms. These are not going to be used against the Government. No doubt the policy was to distrust the people. Firearms were taken away because they might be used against the Government. This is not the time to think of that; this is not the time to have those considerations. We want, Sir, protection not only against foreign enemies but we want also protection against the enemies within the country. I therefore suggest that young men of the place might be asked to form themselves into groups to protect each street, each village, each town, and so on. If that is done, I think we shall be free from—we shall not be quite free but at least we shall have some security against—the attentions of *badmashes* and robbers.

Sir, it is not my intention to take up the time of the House. All that I want is that the Government must realise that it is not merely by fighting the Japanese that you can have peace and security here, but by making the people understand that it is their war and their interest is to see that the war comes to a favourable conclusion so far as we are concerned. We are not trying to avoid it. Even if it comes to our door, we must be able to defend ourselves. Over and above that, before that happens, we want internal peace and security; and for that purpose I want Government to do all that is possible to see that people are protected against the attention of robbers and hooligans.

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMUNNI MENON (Nominated Non-Official):
Sir, it has become fairly clear that the Finance Member's new proposals, however open to criticism they may be in detail, will find a large measure of

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general acceptance. It is therefore with great diffidence that I venture to offer a comment on one of his proposals, the proposal relating to excess profits. I am not personally interested in war profits and any comment that I may make will be directed from the point of view of the critic who holds that it is immoral for any section of the community to exploit to its private profit the needs of war, the evil thing which generally brings suffering, misery and loss to the community as a whole and is so hateful to all of us. I think that attitude of mind is supported by the practice in some of the foremost democratic countries in the world. I am speaking subject to correction, but I believe in Great Britain excess profits are taxed at 100 per cent. subject to a repayment of 20 per cent. after the war. I believe that in Australia anything more than four per cent. is absorbed by the State. I believe also that there is a proposal in the United States to annex to the State anything more than six per cent. If these facts are correct, it will be seen that in all these countries almost the whole of the excess profits which are practically war profits goes to the State. Now, what is the position here? I believe I am right in saying that here an assessee by paying 66½ per cent. can avoid all further liability. He has also the option which may be exemplified by a concrete instance, namely, he can pay 80 per cent. and get 20 per cent. of it paid back to him after the war. I hope I am right in these statements. One would like to ask what it is that prevents the imposition of a higher rate of tax on these war profits in this country. Is it, as it probably is, that the Defence expenditure in this country has not reached that magnitude which can be utilised to squeeze out practically the whole of the excess profits into the coffers of the State, or is it that public opinion in this country is not sufficiently strong in the matter? It is probable that public opinion in this country is rather confused in regard to these war profits. Indian industry has made phenomenal progress since the outbreak of the war. The process of industrialisation in this country has at the back of it strong popular support, and strong public opinion; and considered as a part of the process of industrialisation the recent development of Indian industries is to be heartily welcomed. But that attitude should not lead us to forget another aspect of that development, namely, that Indian industries, like industries in any other country, are during war time making enormous profits. I think it is reasonable to demand that practically the whole of these profits should come to the State. I am not raising this point in the expectation that the Honourable the Finance Member will go into the matter in detail, because it will be unreasonable to expect him to do so for the simple reason that in so doing he may be obliged to disclose his future plan of action. I am only concerned to stress a particular point of view and I should be quite content to leave to the Finance Member the question whether, taking all relevant facts into consideration, he cannot, when he wants more money, look for it in the domain of excess profits.

In a weighty part of his Budget Speech the Honourable the Finance Member explained that his new proposals for raising money should be regarded as being designed to meet two purposes: first, to provide the money necessary for meeting the deficit; second, to act as a deterrent to the inflationary tendency which has begun to manifest itself in this country. His pronouncements on this latter aspect will have brought considerable relief to the class of persons in this country—a fairly numerous class I believe—whose income, small or big, consists mainly or exclusively of fixed money income and who had begun to feel rather apprehensive of their financial position in the face of rising prices. From this point of view, it is rather unfortunate that in the very act of building up his inflationary defences the Honourable the Finance

Member by accepting an income-tax amendment which is otherwise quite unexceptionable lost two-thirds of his equipment under that head. I hope he will soon provide himself with sufficient replacement. I think he will find plenty of material in the field of excess profits and if he cares to adopt the pattern provided by Great Britain I am sure he can before long equip himself with a number of big anti-inflationary guns.

In the course of the debate in the other House certain questions were raised relating to the termination of the existing surcharges and the future fiscal policy of the Government of India. It would appear that the future fiscal policy of the Government of India will be considered by the Reconstruction Committee. Now my object in referring to this matter at present is simply to stress the point of view that the questions of fiscal policy and surcharges should be regarded in relation to the functions of the future Government of India. I hope the post-war Government of India will develop a wider, a more liberal, conception of its functions and responsibilities, which will permit or compel the Government's more generous participation in financing the social services and other needs of the country as a whole. If this point is accepted, then it seems to me the future fiscal policy will have to be framed in accordance with the new conception. In other words, in addition to the usual factors which are taken into consideration in framing a fiscal policy, it should be so framed as to provide an adequacy of funds with which the obligations of the Government of India under the wider conception of its functions can be fulfilled.

The Honourable the Finance Member in the concluding part of his Budget Speech gave eloquent expression to his faith that India will be marching to the victorious dawn of a new world. That fine sentiment will find its echo in the aspirations which gladden the minds of many people in this country; but I think we should not be content to cherish this idea of a new world merely as a distant ideal but we should try and bring it within the range of immediate definite practical action. In all countries which are now at war, particularly in the democratic countries, the idea of preparing for a post-war world has taken definite shape. They have all appointed post-war Reconstruction Committees. Here also, thanks to the zeal and foresight of the Honourable the Commerce Member, Reconstruction Committees have been appointed. I believe there are two such Committees. I am not quite clear what the relations between them are, but I believe the Committee which is concerned with the main problems of post-war reconstruction is the one known as the Consultative Committee of Economists. Now I have no precise information as to the functions of this Committee, but, as far as one could judge from the titles of its Sub-Committees, the scope of its activities is confined to the economic field. It would appear that their main function is to prepare for the change over from war to peace. Now, I submit that there are other problems of an equally important and urgent character, which are worthy of consideration of a post-war Reconstruction Committee. That Committee should not take a narrow view of its responsibilities. There are defects, maladies, and maladjustments in the body politic which, though not immediately caused by the war, have been brought into acute relief by the war and by the incessant talk of a better world to come. These defects and deficiencies require immediate attention. Among these I would mention in particular education, nutrition, and public health. To my mind, the most urgent need in this country today is not so much constitutional change as the provision of the essential social needs of the country. Education, to my mind, is the most urgent need, and no Government of India can take shelter under the plea of

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non-liability which is provided for it by the Government of India Act, in its failure to discharge an essential duty of a Government, namely, the promotion of the well-being of the people. I would, therefore, venture to press upon the Government the supreme need at this time of enlarging the scope of the activities of the Reconstruction Committee and of adding a sub-committee on Education. Its function should be to collect the necessary information, to carry on the preliminary investigation and consultation, and to prepare some sort of blue print for an all-India educational drive as soon as the war is over.

To summarise, Sir, I venture to suggest that the Honourable the Finance Member should explore the field of excess profits when he wants more money. I suggest that the Government should pursue with vigour its anti-inflationary policy. I would suggest that the future fiscal policy of the Government should be considered in relation to the functions of the future Government. Finally, I venture to press upon the Government that they should lose no time in appointing a special sub-committee to take charge of post-war educational problems. With these few remarks, Sir, I give my hearty support to the Finance Bill.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, Sir, before I go on to lay before you the bigger and vital reasons that go to determine my attitude towards the Finance Bill, I should like to refer to one or two minor points.

Sir, when the Executive Council was expanded, a separate portfolio was created for "Information and Broadcasting". A joint committee was elected, in course of time, of members of both the Houses to advise on matters connected with these two Departments and I was elected by this House as a member of that committee. I am sorry to have to say that no meeting of the committee has so far been called and no advice has been sought. I am sure that had the late Sir Akbar Hydari been left to us longer, things would have been otherwise. But surely the Departments are being run by some one, and having no other alternative but to take advantage of the occasion afforded by the Finance Bill, I wish briefly to refer to one or two things appertaining to the Department of Broadcasting.

The first thing which a radio listener notices is that there is no co-ordination of programme between one station and another—all controlled by the A. I. R. If reception were meant to be confined to the various zones separately, the present state of affairs may be considered satisfactory. But, howsoever you may regard your stations as independent units, the listener is not satisfied to treat them as so. Co-ordination of programme is an essential step towards further progress of broadcasting in India. It will not only satisfy the public but will result in considerable saving of energy and money.

The second point is that where it is absolutely essential to borrow or hire a talker, the talks should be recorded on a presto-disc and re-broadcast from outside stations. Thirdly, an artist when borrowed has to be paid much more. The only explanation is that it is good to do so for variety of programme. But I fail to understand what variety is afforded to the listeners when a Lucknow artist sings from Delhi or a Lahore artist from Lucknow. The listener can get the programme of all the stations and it does not matter from where the artist sings. Fourthly, I have on some occasions noticed that Hindustani talks from Lahore and Delhi are 90 to 97 per cent. talks in Urdu. I have figures of plays broadcast in 1939 and they are as follows. Total number of plays broadcast, 369—Urdu 350, Hindi 19; royalties paid on Urdu plays

Rs. 5,942 and Hindi Rs. 415. There are several such instances of prejudicial discrimination, but I shall not take the time of the House any further in multiplying instances. Lastly, Sir, I shall refer to the language of the A. I. R. I do not propose to make a detailed comment. I would only like to say that if we are convinced that a common Hindustani language can be evolved, then we should see that a proper balance is kept in all our spoken-word items in Hindi and Urdu. Hindi-speaking people are not happy with the present policy, and bitter criticisms in the Press and Assembly questions do no honour to the Department. The listener who does not know Persian cannot follow 60 per cent. of the news broadcast from Delhi. The language used is unnecessarily over-burdened with Persian words to the rejection of words which are commonly used by Hindus and Mussalmans alike all over India and in all provinces. Why should the A. I. R. use words like "magarabi", "shumali", etc., instead of their popular equivalents "uttar", "pachhim", etc. ?

Sir, I now come to the terrible situation created by the war and the preparations being made to meet that situation. Every age is generally described as a critical age, but never before during the last 200 years has India had to face a more critical situation than she has to face today. Today the earth trembles beneath the tramp of armed feet, the heavens rain desolation, and the oceans are ploughed by the messengers of death. Near about the shores of India can be heard the booming of guns and although we have not yet had to face the tortures and horrors of modern warfare inside our own land, our minds have been rudely shaken and the placidity of a century of peace rudely disturbed. Our failures at Java, Singapore and Burma have also to some extent shaken the confidence of the people and left most of us wondering. Mr. Atlee, whose speech is reported in the Press today, is reported to have said :—

" I think today that our people are perhaps a little bewildered. Events have happened unexpectedly to them. They wonder why. They tend to think that the Government is also bewildered. All this no doubt is very disturbing". But, Mr. Atlee goes on to add, " that this is more or less due to lack of knowledge of the realities of the situation ".

Let us, Sir, join hopes with Mr. Atlee that the hopes of our enemies are dupes and our fears are liars. But this fact, however, cannot be denied, that the democracies underestimated their enemies and consequently underestimated the amount of material and the number of men necessary to defeat them. But more tragic than everything has been the fact that they underestimated the amount of time available to make their preparations. The Roger Mission is said to have put forward proposals that would have made India an important supply base, and India has in fact been an important supplier of the Middle East, but not of the articles that mean so much in the final analysis. I mean heavy armaments such as planes, tanks, guns, rifles and ships. The result is that even proposals like the formation of home guards have to be turned down on the ground that all that can be had are needed for the army. There are only two ways of resisting the enemy. The first is the aggressive form of defence and the second is the prodigious development of our own war effort in India and the determination of all ranks of the people from the highest to the lowest to resist the enemy at all costs. There is not much use dumping material in England while the real battle rages in the Far East. Today it should not be what material can be spared and from where, so much as where can the equipment be put to the greatest possible use. Is it prudent to keep, particularly production machinery, thousands of

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miles away from the greatest theatre of war and spend many many weeks in sending supplies in a limited number of ships through enemy infested waters. According to the Government of India a number of projects are going forward, a detailed report about which cannot be given because it would contain information which the enemy would like to have. It is clear, however, that the danger to India was not fully appreciated in time either by Delhi, London or Washington. The obstacles in the way of industrialising India have been many. The narrative of the automobile industry, that of the ship-building yard and production of aircraft, etc., are too well known to be repeated here. I would like to say a word or two about the ultimate objective that has been kept in view. Mr. Guy Locock, a member of the Roger Mission and a Director of the Federation of British Industries, when he gave an account of the Mission's work said :—

“ No steps have been taken to expand production as a result of the Mission's visit which are not essential for war purposes, and he saw to it that on the whole post-war interests of British industry are not likely to suffer so greatly as one would have expected”.

This statement lets another cat out of the bag and proves that even in the midst of a total war British industry and its supporters think not in terms of victory but in terms of trade and future competition in the post-war world. This dominating interest of Britain has retarded industrialisation not only in India but even in Australia. It has kept at a very low level the war potential of this country of endless resources, and led to over centralisation of production in England and eventual bad distribution. The establishment of a Middle East Supply Council in Cairo has openly been in the interest of post-war British trade, and although I am not intimately aware of its working, I will be surprised if it is not working more with an eye to the progress of post-war British trade under the fullest assistance from the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, a big competitor of the Indian trader and exporter.

Sir, on several occasions spokesmen from the Treasury Benches have declared that their guiding principle in administration is efficiency-cum-economy and that on the example which they have set up before the country they think that they have a rightful claim to ask for sacrifices from the people. The real position however is not so sweet as that. I shall not make a direct attack on their efficiency because I have not got much material before me to do so, but I wish to tell them one thing, and that is that there is no Government, no set of officials in any country—I am making a collective estimate—who are further removed in sympathy and attachment from the people they govern than the Government and the officials of this country. This is a very serious state of affairs, particularly in war time, and must be remedied. I know that this situation is the result of history, but I should have done very poor service to my country or to the Government if I had not drawn their pointed attention to this position which is deplorable, but which doubtless can be remedied if there is a heart and the desire to do so. Regarding economy, the position is preposterous. So long as the concessions made by the Lee Commission, concessions which are popularly known as Lee Loot, continue to be enjoyed by the European members of the Civil Service, it is a piece of high-browed affront to talk of economy. There is no justification for the continuance of those enormous allowances granted under totally different conditions two decades ago. Even when they were granted they were unjustifiable and during the present time must be scrapped. If the Finance Member wants people to accept his assurance on the question of economy, there is a way and an easy way to save some crores for the Indian exchequer.

Prestige, tradition, exaggerated reverence for past methods, none of these things must be allowed to stand in the way.

Mr. Amery and some others say that the Indian politicians who have year in and year out opposed the army budget cannot in fairness to themselves criticise the Government for any deficiency from which the Indian Army may now be found to suffer. It is a wrong accusation made against us. We never wanted that the military strength of India should be weakened. All we wanted was that the British troops should be replaced by Indian troops so that we may have four soldiers instead of one and for the same cost. We wanted that the officer ranks should be Indianised as fast as possible, a demand which is patriotic, but which has so far received very poor consideration at the hands of Government. We wanted an Indian Defence Member because we felt, as we do feel now, that only under national leadership can a country be best roused to make sacrifices. We wanted, and we want today, full self-government because self-government alone can generate that enthusiasm which is necessary for fighting—the cause of democracy. General Molesworth, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, speaking on Wednesday last at the Delhi Rotary Club dinner said that the Chatfield Committee accepted the proposals of the army authorities in India but they could not get the stuff they wanted for reorganisation when the present war broke out. For several reasons the first ten months of the war were lost. The blame for this lay with other authorities than those in India; but those 10 months they had never been able to catch up. He further went on to say that the next few months are most critical. The whole difficulty is that production in the U.S.A. has not come up to expectations. They are always 10 months behind, whatever they may say. Thus, said General Molesworth, for the time being we have to rely definitely on our own resources and such large reinforcements as we are getting now. If the above is a correct report of the comment made by the General, will it be unfair to ask that the best and the most well-equipped Indian troops should be brought back to India which is today herself in direct danger of attack. I wish to pay at this stage my sincerest homage to the bravery and skill displayed by our troops in various theatres of war.

Sir, I have year after year opposed the Finance Bill, but never on financial grounds, because I realise that money has got to be found and the war has got to be won at all costs. My opposition has always been based on political grounds and as a measure of protest against the constitutional position of this country. I am prepared to make all sacrifices for the victory of the democracies but I want also a democracy for my own country. I am not satisfied with the expansion made of the Executive Council by splitting up the old portfolios in order to accommodate more Indians. There are more Indians now in the Executive Council but this has not resulted in the transfer into Indian hands of the important portfolios of Defence, Home, or Finance. Real power resides in these Departments and these still continue to be the exclusive preserve of Europeans. Then, Sir, we have an irresponsible and irremovable executive and I cannot see why a Government which does not trust the representatives of the people should expect trust in return. Sir, I have repeatedly said in this House that I yield to none in my enthusiasm for war effort and I do feel that the defeat of the democracies in this war will lead to the enslavement of all those who believe in the free development of human personality in a State based on social justice. I am a member of the District and Provincial War Committees, I am the President of the District Hindu Sabha, and the President of the Landholders' Association in my part of the country. But neither the democratic ideology to which I am wedded, nor my association with the bodies I have mentioned, make me regret any the

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less that I am a slave in my own land and consequently I feel that I must signify my protest against the constitutional position of my country in the only constitutional way open to me and that is by not supporting the Finance Bill. I should in the normal course have opposed the Bill outright as in previous years, but there is one consideration that faces me today and that consideration is this, that whenever in the past we have referred to the constitutional deadlock in this country we have always said that the initiative to solve the deadlock should be taken by His Majesty's Government. That initiative has been taken and the British Cabinet has chosen the right person to come here and deal with the situation. He may be here within the next few minutes. Therefore, Sir, as a gesture of goodwill to Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, I wish to convert my usual opposition, although symbolic or emblematic in character, into one of neutrality.

Before I resume my seat, Sir, I wish to express a desire which I think will be generally shared by the members of this House. We are soon to have a secret sitting of this House and I wish, and I hope that the other members of the House would also wish, that Sir Stafford Cripps should attend the debate. I am sure he will spend his time usefully in doing so, when members on both sides would be speaking without reserve.

I wish to take one more minute, Sir, to refer to one point. I have before me a Memorandum submitted to the Government of India on behalf of the Delegation of Indian Merchants, Traders and Landlords now resident in India, having evacuated from Burma. This has been presented to the Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member in charge of the Department of Commerce. I would like to refer to only one small paragraph in this Memorandum. It reads as follows :—

“ Before the outbreak of the present war with Japan, and subsequent thereto, Indian-merchants and traders in Burma had sold goods to the Government of Burma or the various Departments of that Government. In respect of these transactions, the vendors of goods had received payment from time to time, but a number of Indian traders and merchants had not received payment of the price of goods sold by them to the Government of Burma and/or its Departments. This was due to the fact that the Government of Burma had ordered all civilians to leave Rangoon and the seat of Government itself was transferred to Upper Burma. In the resulting chaos and confusion, it became impossible to communicate their claims to the Government for payment, and up to date payment has not been made ”.

In this respect, Sir, I only wish to make one request to the Government and that is that the claims of these people may be registered here and an inquiry made from the Government of Burma and after that the Government of India may collect the money and pay these people.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) :
Mr. President, we have been asked to vote money for the Finance Bill. The Honourable the Finance Member in the other House implied that it would be as absurd to expect America to balance the Budget for us as it would be to expect Russia to win the war for us. We have to rely on ourselves for balancing the Budget and winning this war. The Budget can be balanced, Sir, if we vote money, but money will not win the war for us. Britain had men, materials and money, but it was not able to hold Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya and a part of Burma, because it had not the full moral support of the people of those countries. And, Sir, we required an admonition from the great Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek for the British Government to know the secret of Chinese resistance and Russia's successes in contrast with their

own stupendous failures, despite the advantage of much better resources. The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps may be the direct result of this admonition, but, Sir, we are not in a position to know exactly to what extent Sir Stafford Cripps is going to deliver to us the goods. Again, there is serious apprehension in certain quarters that much valuable time may be wasted in consultations and negotiations, while Japan is ready to strike at any moment without all these formalities.

The scandal of racial discrimination against Indians in Malaya and Burma is beginning to embitter the hearts of our countrymen everywhere and it may have far-reaching consequences which the authorities have at the moment little realised.

The protest of the Indian industrial classes against an indiscriminate scorched earth policy has been sought to be misrepresented in certain quarters. Without holding any brief for Indian capitalists, I may state that the reason for their protest is to be found not wholly in saving their own property. However, British industrial classes are not above the motive of private profits and they have had to be pulled up on several occasions. What our Indian industrialist feels is that if there is an indiscriminate destruction of all property, and if our industries are extinguished British industrialists in the post-war period may have a glorious opportunity of exploiting this country for generations to come. If, on the other hand, India were proclaimed a Dominion like Australia or Canada, Indian industrialists could rely on its own Government for a certain amount of compensation or at least for renewing its concerns and industries with the support of its own Government.

The soldier, the sailor, the pilot and all the fighting services would fight much better if they knew that they were fighting for their own freedom, rather than as it has often been said, for drawing out the chestnuts from the fire, for the British. The extraordinary statement that there is a shortage of 4,500 clerks in the Indian Army and the spirit of fatalism or defeatist mentality would vanish, would disappear, the moment India is declared a free country.

The Honourable the Finance Member, Sir, might feel that the whole fortune of this war depends upon whether he fixes his taxable limit of income to Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500 or upon his pet theory of national savings, but, Sir, money is not going to win this war. We may be able to balance the Budget by sanctioning the money on the Finance Bill, but what is wanted for winning the war is the moral support of the people of this country. Let Indians be trusted with freedom—that much coveted ever-illusory freedom—and India will end this agony and lead back the world to the path of peace and progress.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, in normal times the Budget proposals of a Government, whether responsible to the country or irresponsible, are scrutinised very carefully and if the Government is responsible that Government accepts the verdict of the nation and modifies the proposals accordingly. We are moving in abnormal times. The other greatest disadvantage under which we are labouring is that the Government which has brought these proposals is not responsible to us. The people of the country have no hand practically in framing the proposals because the Government take orders in these matters not from the people of the country but from Whitehall. Sir, in abnormal times like these and when the war is at the front gates of India an additional taxation of Rs. 12 crores may not be much but this additional taxation has to be borne by India in addition to the taxation that she is bearing since the outbreak of the war, and I understand that amounts to about Rs. 20 crores.

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Sir, if the Government had been responsible to Indians then in that case the burden would have been borne and borne cheerfully, but, situated as we are, we have to bear this burden in spite of our grievance against it because we have no hand in framing the proposals, we have no hand in scrutinising the expenditure and still we have to bear it because the war is there. Sir, if we look at these proposals from this point of view, that the representatives of India have no hand whatsoever it is quite natural for Indians to feel that they are being crushed, and crushed to the utmost extent, by this Government which is quite foreign to us. The proposals according to some may be good. There is a scheme of savings in those proposals; that scheme is appreciated in some quarters while it is rejected by others. I think, Sir, that scheme may be given a fair trial, but, Sir, the question is when India is asked to bear the heavy burden of taxation which she is not able to bear because India is mainly an agricultural country and not an industrial country, there must be something, there must be some policy followed by the Government which must induce India to bear the burden cheerfully. Sir, the policy that has been followed—I am not referring to the policy that has been followed before the war but the policy that is being followed by the Government since the outbreak of the war—does not create enthusiasm amongst the people of the country to share the burdens of additional taxation cheerfully. People think that they do not get the full value of the taxation they pay and I submit, Sir, that the complaint of people in India is just and right.

Sir, we, after all, are in a position where we cannot under any circumstances bring pressure on the Government to modify their proposals and therefore we are to thank the Government for whatever small mercies they have shown to us. From that point of view, I thank the Government for accepting two amendments in the other House, and I hope that the amendment that has exempted the lower middle class from taxation will give some relief to that particular class.

Sir, I now come to the question of defence, about which we are told we have to pay a large amount and we are asked to bear additional taxation. In this connection, Sir, I propose to examine briefly the policy that has been followed since the outbreak of the war by the Government. I do not blame, Sir, the Government of India for following that particular policy, because I know as the Government of India is a subordinate Government to the British Government they have to follow the policy that has been dictated to them by Whitehall. I am referring to this question specially, Sir, because the Honourable the Finance Member in his speech on page 4 says, "The recruitment of officers in India has not on the whole been as satisfactory as we could have wished". I would remind the Honourable the Finance Member to look into the debates of this House during the last ten years. He will then find that it is not India who is responsible for this state of affairs but their own spokesmen like Sir Phillip Chetwode and Sir Robert Cassels who stated on the floor of the House that out of 400 million people in India, they could not get even 60 officers for manning the officer ranks of the army. That is a past tale. But let us look to the present. After the outbreak of war they announced that Indians from all castes and creeds would be taken for emergency commissions and they also announced certain quotas for certain commands. Sir, in fixing the quotas for certain commands they wanted a fixed number of educated youths from our country. At the same time they were carrying on with the process of recruiting Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Australians. When they found that educated men were coming forward

in large numbers, they rejected those men on the ground that the quota fixed for certain commands were complete. That quota system was abolished after a year. These young men who were rejected, not on the ground that they were unsuitable for the army or air force or the navy but because the quotas were finished, naturally felt annoyed when they came to know that Europeans and Anglo-Indians were taken in very large numbers while they were refused admission. This state of things continued and is still continuing and I am afraid if no change takes place in this policy, the youths of India would not come forward in the numbers in which we want them for the defence of their country. After all they have got their self-respect. When they find that Australians who do not allow Indians free entry into their country, who do not give ordinary rights of citizenship to Indians in Australia, when the Prime Minister of Australia preaches "Australia for the Whites", are recruited freely in the Indian Army as officers, how can the Government of India or the British Government expect the educated youths of India to join the defence forces in very large numbers? Still, people like me who have from the very beginning of the war taken some interest in getting young boys to man the officer ranks of the defence forces, have been trying our utmost to impress upon them that they must take to the army to defend their hearths and homes. But the policy of distrust which has been consistently and deliberately followed by the Government of India to avoid taking Indians in the defence forces of India has brought about this situation. Let us take the case of the technical services that we have discussed and that is still under discussion. The figures that we got the other day from the spokesman of the Defence Department show that in these technical services the percentage of Indians is going down. Take the Artillery service. In 1940-41, the percentage of Indians was 14 or 15, and now the percentage has gone down to 12½. Take the case of the Engineering Service. There are very few Indian officers there. The same is the case with mechanised cavalry. I understand that the percentage of Indians is about 20 there. All these things had a cumulative effect in damping the enthusiasm of the educated men from joining the defence forces of India in very large numbers. Who is responsible for this state of affairs? It is the Government. It is the policy of the British Government who do not want Indians to come in large numbers into the army. We are told every now and then that the money that is being raised is for the defence of India. We have to spend about Rs. 133 crores from Indian revenues next year for the defence of India. We agree to spend that money. But let us know what part we play in the expenditure of it. Let us take the case of the appointment made in the Public Relations Branch of the Defence Department. Correspondents of English newspapers in India have been appointed in that Branch while denying the claims of competent young Indians. Now, Sir, I want to address myself for a moment to the question whether since the outbreak of the war the Government of India or the British Government have really followed the policy of taking India into their confidence and helping India to resist foreign aggression. In my opinion the answer to that question is in the negative. According to me the policy that has been followed up till now and is still being followed is to centre all war activities in the hands of a few bureaucrats in India without allowing the people to associate themselves with those war activities and without in any way having any confidence in Indians in the prosecution of the war. It is really unfortunate, as I have said several times here, that our friends who were in power in seven provinces left after the war broke out; otherwise in my opinion they could have used their limited power to a very great extent in finding out proper methods for defending India against foreign aggression and internal trouble. But, apart from that, let us take the case of Assam. After the defeat of the old Ministry

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in Assam, Mr. Chaudhri tried to form a stable ministry and he was given to understand by the Congress Party in the Assam Legislature that his ministry would be supported by them. But the head of the province would not agree to that gentleman's proposal of forming a ministry though he knew that a stable ministry would be formed. Sir, we all know the evil effects of one man's rule in the provinces. We know what happened in Bhagalpur. We know that the Muslim League there had decided that the ban should not be placed on the Mahasabha, but in spite of that the head of the province took a different decision and there was all that *tamasha* in Bhagalpur. I say *tamasha* because friends who had gone there told me that it created a great agitation, that for two or three days people in Bhagalpur were saying that the Japanese were their friends, the Germans were their friends. I fail to understand what the Government have achieved by taking arbitrary and indiscreet action like this? Do the Government really feel that by taking such action they have been able to further the war effort in India? Sir, we all want to join in furthering the war effort in India provided we are given complete share in the administration of the country. Even now I find attempts are being made in a section of the press and also in exalted circles to dislodge the Ministry in Bengal. The House knows from the debate that took place in Bengal that the present ministry is a stable ministry and it was with very great difficulty that that ministry came into power. But now steps are being taken to turn the ministry out of office. Is that the way to help, is that a proper way of helping Indians to work the constitution? Instances like these can be multiplied and I think it is perfectly legitimate on the part of some Indians to be indifferent towards the war effort because they think that they are not taken into confidence. Persons like myself who want to militarise India, who want that Indians should be in a position to resist foreign aggression and control internal trouble, do desire that all Indians should take part in the war effort. But our hands are weakened not on account of anything done by our countrymen but by the policy followed since the outbreak of the war by the Government of India and the British Government. Take the case of industrialisation. Industrialists will be able to speak with great authority on this subject, but the speech of Sir M. Visvesvaraya at the last All-India Manufacturers' Conference shows clearly that industrialists in India are handicapped at every moment in starting industries for helping the war effort. If we had a national government at the centre and our own governments in the provinces such a situation would not have arisen. I submit that since the outbreak of the war the efforts of the British Government have been devised to keep the authority in the hands of individual bureaucrats and to deny to the people the right of association in the war effort, and therefore we have to face this situation.

Sir, this side of the House has up till now on the occasion of the Finance Bill taken an attitude of opposition not on the ground that we do not want to help your war effort, but on the ground that this is the proper forum where we can register our protest against your action. But, Sir, as Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to India we all desire that his mission should not be sabotaged. Attempts are being made in certain quarters to sabotage the mission. We desire that he should be successful in his mission and therefore we wish to take a different attitude. I therefore submit that it is not only the duty of Indians to accord him a warm welcome and support him but it is also the duty of the bureaucrats in India to support his scheme and see that India gets freedom which is the natural desire of every citizen. Sir, my political Guru once said that Swaraj is India's birthright. I know that Sir Stafford Cripps

will be able to solve this problem and give us that freedom for which we are longing.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Bill before us, as the Finance Secretary explained, has been modified in important respects in its passage through the other House. No feature of the Bill was more adversely criticised here than the desire of the Government to tax people with incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 in respect of the excess of their income over Rs. 750—

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : May I say, Sir, that we had no desire to tax them at all? That is why we gave them such a favourable option.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : You do not give me an opportunity of finishing. You get up and point this out as if I was really guilty of any mis-statement. So far as I have proceeded, my statement is perfectly correct. It is unchallengeable. Government allowed these people an opportunity, if they wanted to discharge their liability in respect of the tax, to deposit a sum nearly one and a quarter times the tax with the Central Government. We in this House suggested that people with incomes up to Rs. 1,500 should not be brought under the scheme. I need not refer to the reasons which made us oppose the Government's scheme as it stood, but I am glad to find that owing to an unexpected point brought forward in the other House Government have had to yield and a modification has been made, the result of which will be that only people with incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000 will be taxed or in the alternative required to deposit a certain sum of money with the Central Government. While it is a matter of satisfaction to us that the changes to which the Finance Secretary drew our attention have been made in the Assembly, I should like to draw his attention and the attention of the House to the fact that certain postal charges have been enhanced. The announcement has appeared in today's papers. They relate to inland money orders, the recovery of sums in respect of value payable articles and the insurance of postal articles. We were told in the Budget Speech by the Finance Member, and I think we were told by the Finance Secretary also, that some postal charges were going to be raised and some of them were specifically mentioned in the Budget. What I should like to know is whether the charges that have now been enhanced were contemplated when the Budget was presented or whether they have been enhanced because of the changes made in the Finance Bill in the other House? The second point on which I should like to have information, Sir, is the liability of India in respect of goods obtained under the Lease-Lend Act. The matter was discussed in the other House but the remarks of the Honourable the Finance Member as reported in the papers still leave the position obscure. If he has been correctly reported, he said that the liability of India would amount to Rs. 1½ crores only. If that is correct, I should like to know whether he was referring to the current year or to the next year—

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : Next year, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : If that is so, why should provision be made in our Budget in respect of the payment for those goods as if we were liable to pay Rs. 34 crores.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : It has not, Sir. Provision has been made for the payment of Rs. 1½ crores.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : So far as the Budget Speech of the Finance Member is concerned, he pointed out that he was making provision for India's liability as though it would have to be met in cash. I am not quoting his exact words, but I am merely paraphrasing what he said. However, I trust that the Finance Secretary when he speaks will make the position clearer than it still is.

Sir, I should like to make a few suggestions with regard to the accumulating sterling balances of the Government. I am one of those who wholeheartedly approve of the policy so far adopted by them in respect of the redemption of the sterling debt. I think they deserve every credit for having put forward to the higher authorities the view repeatedly expressed by Indian public men and it is a matter of satisfaction to us that the sterling debt of the Central Government has been practically wiped out. But the sterling balances that are accumulating may still be used in other ways to our advantage. During the Budget debate I suggested that certain State Railways which were still under Company-management should be brought under State-management. These Railways are the Bengal Nagpur, South Indian and the Madras and Southern Mahratta. The total capital involved, that is the share capital that will have to be paid by Government if it takes over the management of these lines, would amount to about £9 million only. Of course, it is true that Government cannot take over these lines unless they receive the help of the Secretary of State, but in view of the sanction given by the Secretary of State to the repayment of the undated loans, I trust he will have no objection to allowing the Government of India to make use of their sterling balances to carry out the measures suggested by me.

Another measure of this kind, which I should like to place before Government is the repayment of the sterling debt of the Port Trusts. The total value of their debenture debt also, so far as I can see, amounts to about £9 millions and here again with the help of the Secretary of State they can pay off this debt. I realise that the sums involved are not large and that considerable balances will still remain at the disposal of the Government. Nevertheless the suggestions that I have made appear to me to be somewhat important and are certainly in accordance with public opinion. Besides, there is no reason why Government should not take the steps suggested by me since their point of view in this matter, generally speaking, seems to be the same as ours.

(At this stage the Honourable the President vacated the Chair, which was taken by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.)

There are two other suggestions, Sir, in this connection that I should like to put forward. They relate to the ownership of what I would call the sources of power. I refer to oil and coal. There are two Oil Companies in this country. Their total capital was only about £2 millions in 1928 when the Tariff Board considered the question of granting protection to the oil industry. I do not know what their capital is at the present time but, whether it be large or small, I think that the production of petroleum, because of its importance from the public point of view, because of its being, if I may say so, one of the basic raw materials required by the country, be brought under Government control. The same argument applies to coal, and in regard to coal I am on even stronger ground than in respect of petroleum. The ownership of coal is vested in

England in the State. It is true that the administration still continues in the hands of the capitalists but His Majesty's Government having accepted, at any rate in part, the principle of the nationalisation of coal, I cannot see how they can object to the acceptance of the same principle in this country. It is true that the nationalisation of coal does not form part of the scheme for the repayment of the sterling debt but if we have money at our disposal, and we have a considerable amount of it, there is no reason why we should not use it in the direction suggested by me. The Coal Committee drew our attention to the disadvantages of the present state of things and suggested certain urgent reforms. I do not know to what extent they have been carried out but it is obvious that the conservation of this most important source of power will be best achieved if it is owned by the State.

Sir, these are the suggestions that I wanted to make with regard to the utilisation of the sterling balances of the Government of India.

I should like to say just one thing more of a financial character before I deal with the important problems thrown up by the war. In November last when the amendment of the Income Tax Bill was under consideration I ventured to draw the attention of Government to the serious injustice which the present law does to joint Hindu families. My remarks annoyed the Finance Member, but I venture to draw the attention of Government again to the hardships under which members of undivided Hindu families still labour. To the extent that income-tax has been enhanced or surcharges of income-tax have been imposed their burdens have become proportionately heavier. It seems to me, Sir, that whatever purely legal and technical arguments may be urged in defence of the existing system no moral defence of it is possible. I therefore press the desirability—I should rather say the necessity—of changing the law in this respect at an early date.

And, now, Sir, I shall deal with the problems which have arisen in consequence of the war. The first point I should like to refer to in this connection is the shortage of wheat in the country. The matter has been discussed here already but the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that it is necessary for us to draw the attention of Government once more to this important question. We have been told that Government are alive to the urgency of the matter and that they will take adequate steps, when the next crop is harvested, to see that the public interests are safeguarded. Now I know that a Wheat Conference was held recently and that another Conference will be held on the 6th and 7th April. But I should like to have some indication of the policy which the Government have in view and the steps that they propose to take to control the wheat stocks in the country so that a situation similar to the one that prevails at present may not arise again. The shortage of wheat, Sir, is causing a great deal of hardship, and the adulteration that is going on in consequence of it is affecting the poor people, relatively speaking, more than the rich people. The rich people too are suffering, but it has been represented to me by persons here who are taking a keen interest in this matter that it is impossible for the poor people to get pure flour of any kind. Besides, Sir, this has caused a great deal of panic. It is necessary for Government, therefore, to take a more active interest in the matter than they have done apparently and to make it clear to the public that they mean to do all in their power to relieve the situation at an early date and to deal with it comprehensively in the near future so as to prevent wheat from being buried under ground for private profit.

The next point, Sir, that I should like to refer to relates to the Indians in Ceylon and the refugees from Burma and Malaya. We know what has

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happened in the case of Burma and Malaya. We do not want that that story should be repeated in the case of Indians who want to come back from Ceylon. I want to know from Government, therefore, what steps they have taken to facilitate the evacuation of the Indians who want to come back to their motherland. I am aware that this is a matter to which the Indians Overseas Department is devoting attention. But the House as a whole, and the public, whose minds are exercised on this point, would like to know what steps Government have taken so far in this connection, what representations they have made to the Government of Ceylon and what measures have been adopted to provide the shipping facilities that will be necessary to bring over those people who want to return to India.

I shall refer now to Burma and Malaya. It will not be necessary for me to refer at length to Burma. The position of the Indian refugees from Burma was debated the other day in connection with the Adjournment Motion moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Muhammad Husain. Many points were considered then, but there are still some to which I think it is necessary for us to draw the attention of the Government immediately. I understand that at least till recently there were no Indian camps between Monyva and Pallel. Monyva is in Burma and Pallel is in Manipur. I understand that between these two stages there were, till recently at least, no camps provided for Indians. But there were at least three camps provided for British and Anglo-Indian evacuees between Tammu and Pallel. That is within the State of Manipur which could be controlled by the Government of India. I should like to know how such a situation arose and what steps Government have taken to remedy it? It is bad enough that our countrymen should be discriminated against in other countries, but it is absolutely intolerable that they should be treated as pariahs in their own country and that Europeans and Anglo-Indians should be given preference over them. I am sure that no non-Indian member of this House will for a moment approve of such an arrangement or will desire anything but complete elimination of all distinction between the treatment of Indian and non-Indian evacuees.

Another thing which Government should attend to is the provision of information regarding the route I have mentioned to intending evacuees. At present the people who need them have no information whatsoever about them. They do not know whether they will be able to rest with safety at the end of the day; they do not know whether they will get the necessary provisions and so on. They ought to be supplied with the necessary information and arrangements should be made both in Burma and in India to provide for the evacuees the bare facilities that are absolutely necessary in order to enable them to travel under fairly safe conditions.

Then, Sir, at the railway station at Dimapur I think there ought to be a larger staff to deal with the evacuees. I have been told that the staff there is quite insufficient to cope with the railway traffic that passes through Dimapur. If the staff is not enough, Government can easily take steps to strengthen it so that the evacuees may be put to no unnecessary trouble.

Apart from all these things, Sir, I should like the Government of India to have a representative of their own at Tammu and at the various camps in India. I know that the Assam Government can be asked to deal with them under the control of the Central Government. But I think that the Government of India ought to have these camps under their direct control. I have been told that the Assam Government have appointed a few planters and their wives to look after the evacuees. I am further told that they will be paid

about Rs. 25 a day and that their cost of transport will be borne by Government. I should like to know whether this is true? If it is true, it is one more example of the manner in which this country is governed, of the extremely unsympathetic and unimaginative attitude of the officials. It is obvious that the evacuees can be dealt with satisfactorily only by people who know their languages, Telugu, Tamil, and so on. The Assam people will know Bengalee and to a certain extent Hindi, but they can not deal with the other languages. Besides, I do not think that anybody can look after the refugees with the same sympathy as Indian officers can. If, therefore, my information with regard to the appointment of planters and their wives by the Assam Government is true, I ask that this arrangement should be terminated as early as possible and that the Government should appoint Indian officers immediately to look after the welfare of the evacuees. Lastly, I venture to suggest that some official belonging to the Emigration Department, preferably the Secretary, and two non-officials, for instance, members of the Standing Emigration Committee, should be sent by Government to Assam and asked to go over the route between Imphal and Tammu. I know that the conditions under which they will have to travel will not be easy. I do not know how many of them will be prepared to undertake this task, but if non-officials are available I think they should be sent there, so that they may study the situation and make the necessary suggestions to Government. I read in the papers the other day that the Honourable Member for the Overseas Department himself intended to go to Assam. I am entirely in favour of his doing so, but I suppose even if he goes there it will be desirable that Mr. Bozman and two Members of the Legislature, preferably members of the Standing Emigration Committee, should go with him or, if possible, should go there earlier.

Now I should like to say one word about Malaya. The troubles of the Malaya Indians have been placed forcibly before Government by those people who have returned to this country from various parts of Malaya. In a speech delivered at the last meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce the account that was given by one of the evacuees, Mr. Jummabhai, of the plight of the Indians there and the discrimination exercised against them was shocking. We have been told that in Burma the aeroplanes were used in the first instance for the evacuation of British and Anglo-Indian passengers. I hope that my Honourable friend Mr. Bozman will be able to give the House more definite information on this point than he could on the 18th instant. But in Malaya the treatment meted out to Indians was outrageous. The cowardice and callousness of which the British community of Penang have been guilty can hardly be paralleled by anything in the history of England's relations with India. So far as I know, no Asiatics were given any facilities for evacuation; even Asiatic ladies were not allowed to be evacuated. In Singapore I understand that the first and second class passages were provided more readily for British and Anglo-Indian passengers than for Indian passengers. Apart from this I understand from Mr. Jummabhai's speech that while non-Indians and non-Ceylonese were provided with free passages and good ships, Indians had to pay for their passages and were, at least in one or two cases, provided with ships which were not thoroughly seaworthy. I do not know whether any representation on these points has been made to His Majesty's Government. My Honourable friend Mr. Bozman said in another place that some representation had been made with regard to the non-evacuation of Indians from Penang, but I gather, notwithstanding what the Governor of Malaya said in his speech, that the British evacuees from Penang were entertained at Government House after their arrival at Singapore. I will add to this only two points. I understand that Indians

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returning from Malaya were not allowed to land at Colombo and come to India through Ceylon. I should like to know what steps the Government of India took when they came to know of the refusal of the Ceylon Government to let the Indians land. They would not have stayed there long in any case. However short the stocks of rice and other cereals may have been in Ceylon it would not have made much difference had the Indians arriving there been treated in a more humane way. Lastly, Sir, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that when the ship containing Indian evacuees arrived in Batavia and some people wanted to go to the shipping office they were not allowed to do so; they were asked to wait for the British Consul. The British Consul was written to but neither he nor his assistant turned up. Have the Government of India taken cognisance of this matter and brought it to the notice of His Majesty's Government?

Sir, the facts that I have mentioned show more forcibly than anything that we can say the humiliating position that we occupy in the Empire. Owing to the attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government towards India, Indians are treated as helots throughout the world. It is time that this policy were changed and that the British Government took steps to see that in their own Empire at least the Indians received that treatment and were accorded that status which is their due as common citizens of the British Commonwealth.

Sir, I shall now pass on—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (Sir David Devadoss): Will the Honourable Member be much longer?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I shall take about 15 minutes more.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN: Then I think it will be better to adjourn. The Honourable the Leader of the House.

THE HONOURABLE MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: Sir, after consulting His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Leaders of Parties in this House I am now in a position to ask you, Sir, to fix Thursday, the 26th March, for a secret session of the House to discuss the war situation.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN: I appoint the 26th of March for a secret session of the House.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till Three of the Clock.

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (Sir David Devadoss) in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Mr. Chairman, I was dealing with the position of Indian evacuees from Burma and Ceylon when the House adjourned. There is one very important point relating to them which I have still to deal with. It relates to the financial plight in which these people and those who depended on the incomes they drew from Burma and Malaya find themselves. Many of them have either lost all the property that they owned in these countries or have lost the income on which they depended. They are naturally turning to the Government to help them at this juncture. They ask that they should be exempted from income-tax in respect of that portion of their income which they received from these countries.

Moreover they are not asking for permanent exemption. They are for the present asking only for the suspension of the income-tax. I think this relief is in equity due to them. This point was raised in the other House by my friend Sir Annamalai Chettiyar. He dealt with it forcibly and eloquently and I think that the view he expressed, which is the view placed before Government directly by the sufferers, is one that deserves our support. Again, Sir, many of these people had invested money in war bonds, in the savings banks, in co-operative credit societies and so on. What will be the position of such people? Will their claims be recognised by the British Government? They can legitimately ask that the British Government should in these matters honour their obligations, for after all the affairs of Burma are completely under their control. I do not know what the position at the present time is, whether the men who can give proof of having invested money in any of the ways mentioned by me can on the security of the papers that they have been allowed any advance by the Government of India. I do not know whether my Honourable friend the Finance Secretary or Mr. Bozman will be able to give me any reply on this point. But if they are unable to answer it today, it is certainly a point which deserves serious examination at their hands. Lastly, Sir, the question of compensation to people who have lost their property, particularly because of the action of the authorities, should be sympathetically considered. This was referred to the other day in the House and Mr. Bozman said that it would have to be considered by the legal advisers of Government. I hope that the matter will be looked into without unnecessary delay. These people who are in great distress deserve speedy and adequate relief.

And now, Sir, I shall pass on to the question of our security and the constitutional problem. As a secret session of this House will be held very soon and as some of the questions relating to the position of Indians in the Defence Department have been dealt with by my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar, it will not be necessary for me to detain the House long in dealing with this matter. I endorse what my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar said with regard to the position of Indians in the Defence forces, particularly in regard to the paucity of emergency commissioned officers. We are told that a sufficient number of qualified Indian young men cannot be found, but the real reason for the small number of Indian officers, it seems to me, lies in the unwillingness of the authorities to appoint Indians as officers in the earlier stages. When the war broke out for months they tried to depend entirely on men belonging to their own community. It was the British community in India that was tapped first. The Anglo-Indians were looked to for the supply of officers next, and Indians came last of all. And when they have been obtained they are being very unfairly treated. General Hartley looks at me with some surprise. Well, I have received so many complaints in regard to the treatment of Indian officers that it would be impossible for me to deal with them in detail today, but I can assure the authorities that I am not bringing a charge which cannot be substantiated. I am compelled to bring this point to the notice of the Government because not one or two but a pretty large number of Indian officers have spoken to me on the subject. There are instances, Sir, in which senior Indian officers have been put in positions subordinate to those who are junior to them. I have been supplied with names to convince me that this complaint is perfectly genuine, but it is obviously impossible for me to place these names before the authorities. I doubt, Sir, whether if they are disposed to inquire into the matter this charge will be denied.

Sir, the entire attitude and policy of the Government with regard to our defence is open to the most serious criticism. I am not dealing, Sir, with the

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distant past now. I am concerned with the situation as it has developed during the last two and a half years. It was obviously necessary that the arrangements for our defence should be nationalised, but every request of ours to achieve this purpose has been unhesitatingly turned down. No Citizen Army has been created, nor do we still see any sign of readiness on the part of the Government to bring such a force into existence. Again the proposal for the establishment of a Home Guard in this country, which would have strengthened the morale of the civil population and enabled them to know what was meant by self-defence was opposed by the authorities, and all this has been done on the ground that we have not got a sufficient number of rifles in this country. Can anything amount to a stronger condemnation of the policy followed by the authorities than the paucity of rifles on account of which, as General Hartley admitted in this House the other day, even all the soldiers who were being drilled could not be armed. Even in spite of this situation, this deplorable situation which reflects serious discredit on the Government, I venture to think that my proposal for the establishment of a Home Guard deserved better treatment at the hands of Government. I am glad, Sir, on this point to have received the support of a British newspaper in Madras. Writing on the debate that took place in this House it said :—

“It should have been endorsed notwithstanding the Commander-in-Chief's assertion that the current shortage of men and instructors prevented any diversion of qualified men from the task of training the new army to that of forming the Home Guard. When the Home Guard was formed in Great Britain, it provided its own instructors and largely armed itself. Its instructors were old soldiers, of whom there is no lack in India. Its weapons were pitchforks, sharp-edged spades, old swords, shot-guns, pistols and revolvers of varying ages, knuckle dusters and sandbags, anything calculated to stop the enemy if caught unawares. For a year or more this strangely armed force kept watch and ward in the United Kingdom while the forces and the workshops strove mightily to re-equip the Army with modern weapons”.

Sir, what was done in England should have been possible here. If it has not been done it is due not to its impossibility but to the unwillingness of the Government to trust the people even at this juncture and make them responsible for their defence to the maximum extent possible.

And, now, Sir, we find that discrimination against us has been introduced or increased even in the lower ranks. We know, Sir, that a number of women clerks have been appointed in the Defence Department. Their total number is 434. Of these 297 are Europeans, 123 Anglo-Indians and only 14 Indians and as if this was not enough the Women's Auxiliary Corps has now been started. We are told that there is a serious shortage of clerks in the Army and that women can do certain kinds of work better than men. I have no doubt that there is a shortage of clerks in the Army but the shortage is due to the fact that the Army insist on the acceptance of a liability for general service by the clerks. If the women who are going to be appointed had accepted this general liability Government would have been perfectly correct in saying that they were compelled by the shortage of clerks to employ women clerks, but all kinds of facilities are to be given to them and the members of the Women's Auxiliary Corps. This being so, Sir, I cannot understand why women should have been employed when large numbers of unemployed men are available in India. Sir, the reason seems to me to be contained in the announcement made by the Associated Press with regard to the establishment of this Corps. “Women are intended”; it said, “to replace for active service young men who at present are engaged in office work which women can do”. Obviously, it seems to me on reading this, that the women are required to replace Britishers employed on desk duties in the General Headquarters or in other branches of the

Army and perhaps the authorities desire that these Britishers should be replaced by British women. If women are particularly fit for any kind of work, I have no objection to their being entrusted with it. But it is impossible to believe that they can make better typists or stenographers than men. The reasons, therefore, that have been given for the establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Corps do not seem to be such as can stand a close scrutiny. Sir, racial discrimination has so permeated the Army and the other Defence services that it seems impossible to persuade the authorities even now to take a more statesmanlike view of their own interests. I think that the drawbacks to which I have drawn the attention of the House, and the distrust which prevails between Government and the people will come to an end only with the establishment of a National Government in this country. So long as the present authorities continue to enjoy power in this country, Indians will suffer from serious disabilities, and the best interests of their country will be subordinated to the interests of Britishers.

Sir, this brings me to the constitutional problem. The British Government is not unaware of the strong feeling that exists in this country on the subject of constitutional advance, but they have taken as yet no steps to assure the people that they are willing to part with power. They have so far asked us, whenever we have demanded transfer of authority to Indian hands, to read the declaration made by the Viceroy on August 8th, 1941. That declaration was, in my opinion, open to serious objection on two grounds. I am entirely in favour of the protection of the rights of the minorities, but I am not prepared to accept the view that the final decision of the question of constitutional advance should rest in the hands of the minorities. They cannot in fairness be allowed to become the arbiters of our fate. Let me repeat that no fair-minded man in this country would be against the provision of measures which would enable the minorities to feel that they can play an honourable part in the future of this country. But it is wrong on principle that the fate of the whole country should be allowed to depend only on one section of its population. The second ground on which this declaration was open to objection was that it showed that the British Government did not recognise their own responsibility in this connection. They thought that they could stand aside and watch the differences between Indians themselves which perhaps they believed tended to make their rule more secure. But they find now that the old policy of "divide and rule" may spell ruin to their interests and may be as dangerous to them as it is dangerous to this country. I am glad to find that His Majesty's Government have apparently altered their opinion in regard to their own responsibility for the settlement of the constitutional problem in this country. The international situation has compelled them to re-examine the matter, to search their own hearts and to propose a solution which may enable the democracies to receive the help that they need to achieve victory and to make the world safe for justice and freedom. Sir Stafford Cripps has come to this country on behalf of the British Cabinet to assure us that His Majesty's Government are prepared to place trust in Indians and to make them feel that the sacrifices that they are making will be to the advantage not merely of other countries but also of their own. I do not know, Sir, what proposals he has brought with him on behalf of the Cabinet. But the despatch of a man of his position and views makes one feel that the time may be near when the differences which have unhappily divided those who are fighting on the same side may soon be healed.

The Prime Minister in the announcement which he made on the subject in the House of Commons said that the solution which the Cabinet had arrived at was just and final. We shall hold our opinion in suspense till we know what

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it is. Meanwhile we desire to express our goodwill towards Sir Stafford Cripps who is His Britannic Majesty's ambassador in this country. We have so far as a protest against the policy of the Government voted every year against the Finance Bill, but as it appears that His Majesty's Government are now prepared to revise their opinion, we too are prepared to adopt a new attitude. Not knowing what their proposals are we cannot go so far as to support the Bill, but to show our goodwill towards Sir Stafford Cripps my Party has decided to maintain a neutral attitude. Sir, self-government at the present time is not a privilege. It is a serious responsibility. This responsibility, this grave and onerous responsibility, can be undertaken only if the British Government part with power without further loss of valuable time. The enemy is thundering at our gates. Our responsibility in regard to China and ourselves and the Middle East is heavy. It will not be easy to fulfil it in any case, but if there is to be any chance of its fulfilment statesmanlike action must be taken immediately, so that the people of the country may in the short time that remains to them throw themselves with all their energy into the task of saving their country and the democratic countries associated with it. Sir, on these grounds I shall refrain from voting against the Bill and as I have said my Party will adopt the same attitude.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, year after year in this House the Finance Bill comes and we have to vote the money which the Government spends on the administration. This year as in the last year we are asked to vote a considerable sum of money on account of war expenses. I can assure the House and the Government that we are ready for a purpose like that to vote. We are also ready for collecting more money, not only for the purpose of defence but also for the purpose of offence. It is our duty. But please consider one thing. Do all that is in your power to make us realise that this war is our own war. How can you do that? You can only do that by establishing confidence in the mind of the public, by treating India justly in proportion to the share that she is taking in the war. This is no time for bargaining and haggling on the matter of constitutional reforms. It is the time for a clear cut policy, for saying "Yes" or "No" to Indian aspirations. As my Honourable friend just now pointed out, His Majesty's Government seems to be today in a mood to do justice to India, and for that reason they have sent their representative with the full confidence of the Government to discuss the situation here. We do not know what those just conclusions are to which His Majesty's Government has come, but I hope that they are such as will be acceptable to the country. His Majesty's Government knew the desire of the country very well indeed, and if now, when there is no time left for mere promises or delay, they have sent a clear cut scheme, let us hope that it will be acceptable to Indians in general. My Honourable friend in this connection referred to the question of minorities. Let me say that, while the duty is cast on the British people to part at this juncture with their power, the duty is equally cast on Indians to come to a just settlement between themselves. If we fail in that duty and if we behave with each other like *baniyas* and start haggling over the pennies and the pounds, a settlement will never be reached. The minorities' question in other countries is different to what it is in this country. In most countries minorities are not communal or religious minorities. They are usually racial. But here the question is more acute because unfortunately the minority question is nothing but communal or religious. If you put your finger on the religious pulse of an Asiatic you will find that it beats very strongly. It is said that a minority,

may be a substantial minority, has no right to put obstacles in the way of the whole of India. I would say, "Yes, but the whole of India includes that huge big minority." India is a most wonderful place so far as the people are concerned. It is not a country, it is a continent, where, if a person living in one province goes to another province, he finds that he is a stranger as a German or as an Englishman in that place.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : No.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : I say Yes. My Honourable friend can have that opinion, but I will certainly say Yes. If one goes from the North to the South, one will find that the very construction of the human body, the colour, the language, the structure, culture and everything is so entirely different that it is not possible for you to find similarity. Go to Bengal and see the structure of a Bengali and go to the Punjab and see the structure there. Not only that, but see how he feels in his mind and thinks in his brain. He feels entirely differently to people living in another province. If that is doubted, I do not know what can be admitted. It is for this reason that in India the words "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" have been used to denote one interest on one side and many interests on the other. The word "Hindu" is so loosely used that it applies almost to every non-Muslim living in India and thus the question of the Muslims as a minority has become prominent. As a matter of fact, Hinduism includes so many people of so many convictions and faith that it is not possible to reconcile them. Go for instance to Central India, Hyderabad or Malabar and you will find that some of these people are not allowed to come in a room where food is taken by men of their own religion. You will find that there is nothing in common. In the Census the word "Hindu" includes Untouchables, Aboriginees and so on and that has put the Muslims in the minority. Otherwise the Muslim would have had a claim if not to be a majority at least to be equal to any community in this country. But that is neither here nor there.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I am sure that Mr. Jinnah will claim domination over this country one day.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : You will admit that he has not done so far. What he wants he has said. It is this, "Let us live and let live. We want honourable settlement of the safeguards for our existence". But you want the domination of everybody in this country. You had your time and you have proved it and you repent on it. Never mind. Let both sides be prepared for sacrifices and it is only then that the question of Indian reforms and constitution can be settled. Whether it is Mr. Jinnah or anybody else, let every one give up the idea entirely of trying to dominate any minority living in this country ; it is only then that some settlement can be reached. I hope the British Government, who are blamed for "divide and rule" policy will approach this question properly and justly and let us feel that this is our war.

The other thing that I want to mention is that Honourable Members know that for the last 23 or 24 years there have been many public agitations in India against the Government—from non-co-operation, Khilafat movement, right up to today. What does a man in the street think about the British Government? Let me frankly tell you—and I hope you realise—that he has no good word to say about the British rule. It may be right or wrong. I am not discussing the merits of it, but it is a fact that propaganda and agitation is going

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on in the country against the British rule among the masses and that is responsible for creating this feeling and it is there. Therefore, it is no good denying or ignoring the fact. Let us face the fact that today there exists among the masses a hatred for the Britishers. If they cannot remove it altogether—and it cannot be done in a moment's time—they should not enhance it at the present juncture when so much goodwill of the people of India is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war; no act should be done which would increase that hatred. We have had discussions on the floor of this House about racial discrimination. Those discussions and the facts which led to those discussions did not directly concern the man in the street. The attitude of the British soldiers towards the public is one of the things which have to be taken notice of. I admit that individual cases do occur; they have occurred in other countries, they may occur here. Sometimes, Sir, a foolish person does a thing and gives a bad name to his whole class. The present mood of the people of this country is such that more attention should be paid to this matter. There should be no estrangement or hatred between the civil and the military. No doubt the military is there, particularly at the present juncture, to fight for us, to protect us and to defend us but we can not ignore those cases in which we get something from those very people which makes us hate them. I think about three days ago the papers published the incident that took place in Bareilly of the soldiers coming there in the bazaar and having got drunk there doing all sorts of mischief. They were arrested by the police; some were detained and some were sent away. Instances and reports from Bombay and Poona are also not wanting. Therefore it appears that from one end to the other end of India in some places we find that these things have occurred. What I say is this: these things should not be condoned but serious steps should be taken to stop the repetition of such incidents which increase hatred in the mind of the people.

Now let me say that I do not confine myself to the British soldiers alone. I know and I have had reports of Indian soldiers also, although not as many as those about British soldiers, but I have had reports and some of them I believe to be true in which case the Indian soldiers also did not behave properly with the people.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS (Punjab : Non-Muhammadian) : Will you cite an example ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : I hope you will meet with one of these incidents yourself and experience it personally. However, I will give you one, which I myself saw in the Meerut Nauchandi Fair. Anybody who has seen that Fair will know that it is a very crowded place. There an Indian soldier wanted to purchase something. He pulled out a gentleman who was already purchasing some articles from inside the shop and on his protest he pulled his turban away and as a matter of fact he took that turban away! I hope my Honourable friend will not meet an experience like that. However, I am not defending Indian soldiers. There are instances of their misbehaviour at times but what I say is this. Those instances are not as many as we hear of the British soldiers and to be fair I say that an Indian might be tolerated but considering the feeling that exists today in the masses they do not wish to tolerate any Britisher in the same way. If racial discrimination exists on one side you must expect on the other side also something of that kind.

Now, Sir, besides that there is another thing which I am obliged to say. A good deal of money is required for war purposes. There are two aspects of the war : one the military operations outside India for the purposes of defending India, and the other inside India. So far as the first is concerned I am afraid one has to repeat over and over again that there should be a limit to the unpreparedness of the military on our side. Undoubtedly Germany has been preparing itself within the knowledge of almost all the world for many years before but the war has lasted a long time. For that kind of preparation on our side also it would take some time. Now in the East I refer to Japan not as big a power as Germany. We know that Japan entered the Axis Pact a long time ago ; everybody suspected Japan to come into the war or be at least troublesome some time or other. Now we find that Japan wherever she attacked she had simply to go and walk in—I am speaking comparatively considering the magnitude of the war like this. What we see is that there is such a kind of unpreparedness not in one direction but almost in every direction of military importance that one feels that even after such a long time of our entering into the war our condition is so hopeless that it is not possible for us to stand and sacrifice our lives because the unpreparedness is of a kind which would make it impossible for us to resist the enemy. Well, so far as that is concerned let us hope that all will be done as quickly and as vigorously as possible in the nearest future. But today the war has reached such a stage that as an Indian and on behalf of Indians I would say that let from today no war material or necessary equipment which are required for purposes of the war should go out of India, except those which are surplus and will not be required for India itself, because if that is not done, in view of the unpreparedness which we have been seeing everywhere what is India going to do? You do not desire that all component parts of the Empire should remain in such a state of unpreparedness that if the enemy wants to walk into any one of them if he desires. In case he comes to India by air, sea or land he will simply walk in and if today he lands in Calcutta in about ten days he will enjoy cinema in Allahabad and in about 30 days time in Delhi. It appears from reports from Burma that no opposition is being offered. I do not say that it should be done when it is not possible to offer opposition. We hear of the withdrawal of the Army step by step and in fact some of the reports go to say that the withdrawal has been very quick and to long distances. Whether military necessities may have required it or not we do not understand these strategies but the effect of the news is that it appears to us that he has only to say that he was coming there and he is welcomed.

The other thing is the lesson that we got from there. I hope we will take it as a lesson. Unless the civil population also co-operates and is ready to sacrifice every thing with the military, the latter alone will not be able to do anything. If at any place we find that the enemy is given facilities or at least that our army is not given any facility by the people but are put to trouble, naturally the difficulties of our army will increase to a very large extent. Therefore, it is very necessary that the Indians also should get into that mood of thinking, "This is our war, our men are not being sacrificed only for the British people, for that little island which is about a third of Bengal, but it is our own country which we are defending and we should be helpful in every respect". That can be achieved by establishing confidence in the minds of the Indians and making them believe that today they are not the slaves of India but they are the owners of India and friends of the British. Friendship is a much better relationship than the relationship of master and servant. A slave may be reluctant to help but a friend

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will not be so. Therefore, let us get that relationship established and let us be determined to end the relationship of master and servant.

That is about the operations of the military. There is also civil defence. Today, in India, there is a good deal of internal bitterness. The Indians not only mistrust the British but there is a good deal of mistrust among the Indians themselves. Not merely mistrust, but bitterness of a virulent type in the daily life. Therefore, the question of civil defence becomes much more important in a place where there are so many factors which might result in increased breaches of the peace. Therefore, we must direct our attention on one side to the war efforts and on the other side to civil defence. Unfortunately, owing to several circumstances, the people are suspicious of officials, and instructions that are issued by Government officials are looked upon by the population as having something behind its back. It is unfortunate, but it is there. Therefore I would ask the authorities responsible for civil defence to set up an organisation in which such non-officials whom the public recognise, to whom the public has listened in the past, have a prominent part. Through them it will be much easier to establish confidence among the masses. Then again, I want to clearly impress upon the Government that at the present juncture, in order to avoid internal trouble, they should not allow any private, separate communal organisation, whether it be the League, the Hindu Sabha or the Congress, to be put up for this purpose. My apprehension is that the first thing they will do will be to break each other's heads, instead of defending their community or their *mohallas*. It must be a joint organisation. There is no difference between the Hindus and Mussalmans on this point, or between the Congress and the Muslim League. They both want such an organisation. Why not have joint organisations? Separate communal organisations must be stopped as one of the essentials for keeping the peace. It is not merely an advice which might or might not be accepted but it is an absolutely necessity. If internal disturbances are to be avoided, separate organisations, not merely in name but in fact, should be stopped. It may be called Congress today or it may be that a similar organisation is started by the Muslims tomorrow. The name may not be communal but there may be Muslims in it, such as the organisation of Alama Mashriqui the leader of the Khaksar movement. The name was not Muslim but to all intents and purposes the members of that movement were mostly Mussalmans. (*An Honourable Member*: "Entirely Mussalmans".) That is entirely wrong. I have met Sikh members and I have also met Hindu members. They may be one in a thousand and therefore I say the organisation was predominantly and prominently Muslim. I am speaking on the floor of the House on a subject which is very vital for Indian defence and on which my Honourable friend Dr. Kunzru has spoken before in connection with Home Guards and said that the Indian population should be armed. My opinion is that at the present juncture, they should be disarmed, otherwise trouble will occur, and the military and the police and every institution responsible for the protection of life and property will have the same difficulty of facing communal riots.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: May I correct the Honourable Member? I did not say that arms should be distributed to the civil population. All that I said was that arms should be given to the Home Guard, which would be under the control of the Defence authorities. That is very different from indiscriminate distribution of arms.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: I stand corrected and I am very glad that you meant that. If that is so I have no grudge.

But I again point out that the Government ought to see that licenses are not issued to people who are not responsible. I have in my own experience known of cases of guns belonging to license holders having been lent by them to bad characters and, subsequently identified in the court. So it is necessary that irresponsible people should not be given arms of any kind.

The other thing I want to impress is the control of food. Food affects the masses very much and any general alarm in a big country like India would be terrible. It may easily stop the very machinery of administration from functioning. I hope that lessons have been learnt already from incidents which have occurred. For instance, there is a panic by the bombing of Calcutta and people begin to run away; just imagine the possible conditions. All the tramway conductors in Calcutta may join the masses who are running away, so the trams come to a standstill. The same thing may happen in the case of the railways. Therefore to avoid panic it is very necessary to do things through non-official agencies. Take a very ordinary instance. The papers said there would be a blackout exercise on such and such a date. But how many people read the English papers. In the evening people saw the streets were dark and a lot of them not knowing what was happening started leaving their houses and running away to the houses of their friends in the city. The population is unfortunately so ignorant and so disinterested in the war that it is not possible for them to know what is expected of them. Therefore I say all these things should be done through the medium of prominent non-officials. Take A.R.P. It is true it is not a purely official organisation, it is more or less non-official, but I am only giving an instance for the guidance of those responsible. At some places there was such reckless enrolment for the A.R.P. service that people have been taken in without any inquiry as to their character and in some *mohallas* most of the *badmashes* and *goondas* got in. I talked to people there who said that these A.R.P. persons to whom they were supposed to look for help and protection would be the first persons to take advantage of the confusion arising out of an air-raid. One of them had just come out of jail after doing a sentence of four years. I know there are many difficulties, but I am pointing out that that is a factor which should be borne in mind. Once things begin to happen it will be too late. And I really think that a panic which causes a stampede, or what one might call in our language a *bhagadar* will stop the administrative machinery from functioning. It is very necessary to guard against that.

Now as I have said, food affects everybody. I think it was yesterday or this morning that there was an account of a goods train being stopped and looted on the G. I. P. R. near Gwalior by dacoits. Probably some in that gang were criminals, but there must have been many who were not, and they were just wanting food. If grain riots were to take place in many cities and towns I do not know how the administration could function. The civil authorities will not have enough men to arrest the numbers involved. Now there is one serious point about the grain position. Wheat is controlled and its price fixed. As a result of that the other grains, which are mostly consumed by the poor, have gone up in price very nearly to the level of wheat because they are not controlled. These are essential things to which we must direct our attention.

Now, Sir, there is one thing which I am afraid I cannot allow to go unnoticed, and that is in connection with the Radio. My Honourable friend Mr. Mahtha, who is not here now, complained about the broadcasts in Urdu. I would appeal to him at the present juncture, when we have more than sufficient communal bitterness, if possible to avoid adding to it. I really do not understand his complaint. I have heard broadcasts in Pushtu and in Marathi,

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Tamil and Gujerati amongst other languages. I have heard also of Hindi, but as a script and not as a language. I do not know of any province in India which talks Hindi. There may be a Hindi script but the language is Urdu. I have recently heard it called Hindustani, but I have not heard of Hindi being the language of any province or any part of the country. I would very much like to know if there is any place where Hindi is talked as a language. But if he means by Hindi Urdu which has big and ununderstandable Sanskrit words, it is much better to call it Urdu or Hindustani than Hindi. We see in the Programme "Talk in Hindi." What does that mean? I was going to propose that that must be absolutely stopped. I can understand if it is a talk in Marathi or in Punjabi. What is this Hindi? Nobody knows that language. In fact I was going to complain that some words in the Urdu broadcast are not easy to understand for a person who does not know Sanskrit. Almost weekly from Delhi along with the news in Hindustani there is a news survey and there are two gentlemen who speak in Urdu just after the news. One gentleman speaks Urdu which even a Hindu can easily understand but the other gentleman speaks which is at least half full of words which I do not understand. That should be simplified. There is no question of Hindi talk at all. It is no language which is spoken any where apart from Hindustani. If my friend advocates that being an All-India Radio there should be broadcasts in Marathi, in Telugu, etc., I can understand. But the broadcast from here is in a language which is wrongly called Hindi because as I said, I am unable to know the place where it is spoken. One should not introduce words which the people are not used to. In the United Provinces an attempt was made to call a "mudae" (plaintiff) as "jhagralu". I am quite sure if a chaprasi was to shout from the door of the Court such and such jhagralu is present, the man concerned would protest strongly against it as "jhagralu" means quarrelsome. I would request the Government to broadcast in a language which the people can understand very well.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Why not in simple language ?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : My friend objects to Urdu, but Urdu is a simple language, although you can make it a difficult one by introducing Sanskrit or Arabic in it. As a matter of fact it is wrong to say that Urdu is the language of Muslims. It never existed anywhere else. The meaning of "Urdu" is "cosmopolitan". Urdu language came into existence in India as a means of medium between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Many words in this are actually Hindi. My friend should not get jumpy if I say it is Urdu. It is certainly Urdu. It is wrong to say it is Hindi, because this language is not spoken in any part of Hindustan and therefore it must in justice be called Urdu, because Urdu is spoken in the United Provinces, Bihar and places near Delhi.

I must once again impress on the Government that they must do all that is necessary to establish confidence in the minds of the people for their own benefit and that of the country.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 24th March, 1942.
